2: Lorimer T-3 (1929-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

Chapter 4

AT HOME

THE language material amassed in the four Gilgit years was by no means in such coherent form as to be immediately available for other scholars. The final process of reducing it to order was not less but more laborious than the original collection. In Burushaski alone DL had some hundreds of pages of foolscap type-written texts carefully correlated by reference numbers with the original notebooks from which they had been copied, and in addition eight fat quarto notebooks full of notes in small writing on every imaginable subject. His first task was to make a careful, literal translation of the texts, aided by his own manuscript notes made at the time of recording; the second to work through these and the notes of every sort, card-indexing every word as it occurred with all its inflected forms and the reference to each place of its occurrence. This being done, he was able to begin to work out the grammar. For the paragraphs about the noun, for instance, 1,800 cards had to be taken out, examined, sorted, the results analysed and tabulated till the four gender-like categories and the thirty-eight possible plural forms of Burushaski were reduced to order. The subtle and complicated Burushaski verb eventually revealed its secrets —or the bulk of them—only to an examination of hundreds of cards, each packed full of recorded forms. The commonest and most everyday verbs gave—as every dictionary maker will understand—incomparably more trouble than the rarer ones.

Then the texts had to be edited with the necessary explanatory notes and a key-translation to help the potential student, for whom a free translation in more polished English would be less useful. Finally, the Vocabulary, or Dictionary, had to be drawn up with examples of the uses of the words.

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128 The Burushaski material which had been collected in the leisure of one short year, while DL was continuing work on Shina and Khowar, took four and a half years of steady desk work to prepare for press, and resulted in three stout volumes of 464, 418, and 545 large printed pages. The typing for the printer was, of course, nearly concurrent with the manuscript draft, and when this was completed the next question was to find a publisher.

The prospect looked none too bright, and we gloomily predicted that some German or Russian would anticipate David's work on Burushaski, when an unexpected letter came from Professor Georg Morgenstierne, himself a professional philologist and a pioneer worker amongst Central Asian languages, asking whether DL would care to submit his Burushaski work for consideration by the Norwegian Institutet for Sammenligende Kulturforskning (Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Culture) with a view to its possible publication by them at their expense. The offer was too generous to refuse. We felt sad, homesick as it were, that Oslo, not Oxford, should stand on the title-page; but if Norway with scientific endowments could face what unendowed English publishers could not, national pride had to give way before the practical consideration that if the work was to be of use to scholars it must first be printed, and if it were not speedily printed it might be anticipated. David therefore gratefully accepted for his Burushaski the honour of a place in the Institute's distinguished series of learned publications. We found later, to our surprise and pleasure, that the Institute having once undertaken a scientific book, undertake also that nothing shall prevent its reaching the right public, and are prepared to send copies to almost *any* person interested enough to want them—a generosity which no ordinary publishing firm could emulate. It will be remembered that when Hooker was bringing out his great *Flora Indica*, his publishers expressly stipulated that no copy was to be given free to anyone who could possibly require the book!

So the typescript went to Oslo in 1931 and work began on the proofs, the reading of which was even more laborious than

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we had anticipated. In spite of the most generous co-operation of Professor Morgenstierne, many sheets had to be read seven or eight times, the first two volumes eventually appearing in 1935 with Messrs. Williams & Norgate as the English agents of the Institute; and the third, the Vocabulary, in 1938. 121

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PREFACE.

The present work deals with a language which is spoken in some inaccessible mountain-valleys at the meeting-point of three great linguistic families, viz. the Indo-European (represented by Indo-Aryan Shina and Iranian Wakhi), the Tibeto-Burman (represented by the Balti dialect of Tibetan) and Turkish, but which is unconnected with any of them.

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any rôle in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilization. Yet the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture has recognized the importance of assisting in saving from oblivion this relic of the past, of which, so far, only very summary descriptions have been given, and which in spite of, or perhaps just on account of, its apparent isolation may help to throw light upon the linguistic history of Asia.

The Institute has therefore undertaken to publish the first comprehensive account of Burushaski and the notes on the closely related Werchikwar dialect prepared by Lt. Col. Lorimer. During his term as a political officer in Gilgit, close to the Burushaski speaking country, the author contrived to collect very ample and reliable material relating to the language, and he has since successfully carried through the difficult task of classifying and arranging it, describing in detail the highly complicated grammatical system of Burushaski. He has earned our gratitude for

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the painstaking energy with which, despite many difficulties, he has prosecuted this pioneer undertaking.

The writer of these prefatory pages, who has had the privilege of discussing with the author a number of questions relating to Burushaski, can testify to the accuracy and care which has been bestowed upon the work.

In scientific importance Burushaski may be classed under several categories. Each of these presents its own special problems which will require separate and detailed study, and here it is only possible to draw attention to a few points selected more or less at random.

In the first place Bu. is of interest to the student of general linguistics on account of the many peculiar features of its morphological structure. These have been described in detail in the Grammar, and I shall only mention here one or two which seem worthy of consideration.

The division of nouns, etc., into four classes[1] is, of course, one of the outstanding features of Bu. grammar. L. is, no doubt, right in considering the first two categories (m. and f.) to be subdivisions of a common class denoting human beings (h.). The plural endings, the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and the numerals are the same in m. and f. nouns, and it is only in 3 sg. of the prefixed pronouns and of the personal suffixes of the verb that the two classes differ. This is an interesting parallel to the Indo-European gender system, in which the distinction between m. and f. is supposed to be more recent and less fundamental than that which exists between m. and f. on the one hand and n. on the other.[2]

Of course, the Bu. x. and y. categories cannot be indentified with the I. E. n. As a matter of fact, the x. class, which among other things comprises non-human animate beings and which may, with great reserve, be defined as denoting individually conceived objects,

[1] §§ 19 sqq.

[2] V. e.g. Meillet, BSL. (CX), 81, 7.

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115 of course, everything was going to have been checked and corrected
126 and much additional information was going to have been obtained
— an impossible programme!

Simultaneously with the writing of the texts I ran through an
126 extensive list of common English words and obtained as far as possible their Burushaski equivalents by direct enquiry. This method helps to fill up unexpected lacunae which will always be found in the vocabulary obtained from any moderate body of texts and casual information. It works well enough with nouns that are the names of material objects and with the simpler direct verbal conceptions. As a sole method, with an imperfectly-known common language as medium of communication, it would be quite unsatisfactory.

Also, in desperation, to make the most of the time available, I adopted a still less satisfactory expedient. I commissioned Imam Yar Beg's elder brother, 'Ināyatullah Beg, to write out for me a list of all the Burushaski words and proverbs he could think of with explanations in Hindustani. He had some months in which to do this. I gave him for the purpose a large number of slips, each to be used for a single word, of which the vital inflected forms were also to be given. Unfortunately I was not able to convey my instructions by word of mouth and IUB devoted himself to a paper-economy campaign, writing as many words in pencil in a small hand on each slip as he could cram on to it. The result was almost illegible. I handed those slips over to Shāhzāda Yūsuf of Yasin to re-write. He had an adequate knowledge of Burushaski and non-literate Burushō at hand to consult. With great industry he rewrote all the words on separate slips, adding in some cases Roman transliterations of his own. This did not suffice, however, to distinguish with any certainty a from ā, i from e and u from o, nor to exclude ambiguity in the case of some other sounds.

●128 All this material, which contained much that was new to me, I was unable to examine till years later when in England and unable to obtain help. Another very difficult manuscript with which I

had to struggle unaided was that of text No. 47 which had been supplied to me in two not identical versions, Burushaski and Urdu, by Gulqadir Muhammad Ghani Khan, before I had begun to work at the language.[1]

In collecting linguistic material there is a choice of two attitudes one may adopt. The first is to try and clear up and master every difficulty as it occurs and ideally to make one's effective knowledge keep pace with the information that one writes down; the other is not to linger over difficulties which prove at all intractable, not to memorise and not to endeavour to learn to speak as one goes along, but to write down in the way of Texts etc. as much as possible in the time available, only making notes of the meaning and of usages as far as that is possible without undue delay.

The former method is of course the ideal one, but I doubt whether it is the wiser when time is limited. One may spend hours debating over an obscure phrase or construction without arriving at a full comprehension of it, while if the time is spent instead in recording more texts, there is a considerable chance that the word or phrase will turn up again in contexts which make its meaning or force plain. At least this has been my frequent experience. As regards trying to talk and memorising one's material as one goes along, where the language is as difficult as Burushaski, that is largely a question of the quickness and acquisitive power of the regarder. With no spare time or energy at my command such ambitions lay beyond my hopes.

I therefore resigned myself to the second method and devoted myself to collecting as much material as I could in the time — and the "time", it must be remembered, was what remained to me when my official work was done, and had to be divided between the three languages I was working at concurrently, Shina and Khowar as well as Burushaski. Then on retiring and returning to

[1] There is an error in the statement made in l. 3 of the note on p. 376 of the Texts: "1933" should be altered to "1932", or else the words "more than a year" should be cut out. I am not sure which.

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12.6 England I settled down first to translating the texts and working
●12.8 out the vocabulary, and then to an intensive comparative study of every word and every grammatical form occurring in my material. On this basis I then prepared and annotated the Texts and drew up the Grammar and Vocabulary as they now stand. This took in all four and a half years, from January 1926 to June 1930.

I have dwelt at some length on my methods of work, because without such knowledge it is impossible for the reader to form any just estimate of the degree of authority to which the book can lay claim. For the same reason I have made a free use of question marks in the Vocabulary and elsewhere to indicate points in regard to which my information is uncertain. I hope I have stated nothing as a fact except on reasonably adequate grounds.

1.1.4 The whole edifice stands essentially on the foundation of Jemadar Imam Yar Beg's Burushaski, a foundation the general reliability of which I think no one in Hunza would dream of questioning. But this statement requires serious qualification: it is IYB's Burushaski as affected by the mishearings and misunderstandings of the recorder. That there are such I have not the slightest doubt. I am only surprised that the substance of the Texts has worked out so homogeneous and, as I have now some ground for believing, so correct.

A special word of warning should be given in regard to the Phonetics. I am myself no phonetician and made no constant systematic attempt to distinguish by all means at my command between different sounds which sooner or later I knew to exist, but could not myself certainly distinguish. This applies specially to the two parallel series of cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates. Many cerebrals and aspirates may have escaped undetected; I can only say that where a sound is marked as cerebral or aspirate, it may safely be assumed to be such.

1.2.1 My general aim in the preparation of this work is now sufficiently evident; it is simply to give a perfectly objective view of what I was able to ascertain about the language. I have created a hypothesis

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Shahzada Yusuf and Nazar. Further I would very specially thank my friend, Khan Sahib Muhammad Masih Pál, in my time and still, Indian Assistant to the Political Agent, Gilgit, for many and various services extending over a number of years.

To Professor Georg Morgenstierne's inspiration and good offices this work owes its appearance in print, for he introduced and sponsored it to the Directors of the Norwegian Instituttet For Sammenlignende Kulturforskning who have honoured me by approving it and publishing it at the expense and under the aegis of the Institute. I should like here to express my sincere and cordial thanks to the Institute and its Directors. With great unselfishness Professor Morgenstierne has also spent no little valuable time and much patience on matters connected with proofs and printing. He promises to crown his kindness by contributing a Preface.

Finally my thanks are due, as always, to my Wife for steadfast encouragement, judicious but unvexatious criticism, and unstinted typing, each of which contributions is in its way equally essential to my continued functioning.

Aliabad, Hunza.
1st September 1934.

D. L. R. L.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1930-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

the lighting of lamps, between supper and bedtime, in recounting past events, and doubtless in confirming and explaining traditional behaviour and practices:

šapi·k ǰi·mtsum guc̣alpal xa (I am told) guri·tas guri·bilumšo ya dapiŋ ctašo huru·šam. Thamini tə·ndili gurə·ntas aka·birtiŋ huru·šam da šajara (= šajara = tə·ri·x) ečam.

"From eating food till lying-down time those who had lamps or those who were preparing wool for spinning used to sit "by the lamp." In former years the people of the upper class used to sit by their lamps and recount past events."

That these séances had an educative and moral intention is evident from the saying, ascribed by tradition to Big Ali of the Ghulwátting clan:

Ghulwaṭiŋs Big Ali.s bər bila: "uyo·m ja guri·tsər dum ja·tsum siskuṭ (= insa·ni.at) haki·ba·m. Ja khu yuniki.ənts ayu· yuniki.əntəs gurə·ntsər niča·m."

"There is the saying of Big Ali of the Ghulwátting: 'All people have come to my lamp-side and have learnt from me human virtue. Only these evil sons of mine go to the lamp-sides of evil persons."

The few remarks I have to make about the provenance of the subject matter of the texts are embodied in the notes subjoined to each. Otherwise the notes are chiefly confined to grammatical queries and explanations. Paragraph numbers quoted in the notes refer to the Grammar. Obviously the texts, especially those relating to local traditions or customs, require much fuller annotation to reveal and explain their full content; but lack of knowledge, no less than lack of space, made it impossible for me to attempt such annotation.

I hope that my present investigations in Hunza may serve to throw light on many of such obscurities.

Aliabad, Hunza,
29th October 1934.

D. L. R. L.

[p.1 contains no textual material – Analyst]

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PREFACE.

The following Vocabularies are based on the material collected in 1923—24, to which reference has been made in the Introduction, Volume I (pp. lvi. ff.), and were completed in 1930—31.

Thanks to assistance received from the Leverhulme Research Fund, I was able to revisit Gilgit and Hunza in 1934—35, and I then collected a considerable amount of new material.

Of this practically nothing has been incorporated in the present work. The additions, in the way both of new entries and of the elaboration of the existing entries, would have been considerable, and their preparation would have entailed great delay in publication. As matters stand I have not yet worked out the new material[1], and this has saved me from much temptation.

The revision of the *Burushaski—English Vocabulary* as it already existed, was, however, one of the many items of a too ambitious programme, which I did carry out, if only in a hasty and perfunctory way.

For this work I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Qudratullah Beg (QUB), son of Subadar Muhabbatullah Beg, a literate and extremely intelligent young man, with a remarkable feeling for language and the refinements of phonetics.

A thorough examination of the forms, meanings and uses of the words in even this very modest vocabulary would have been a major task requiring an almost infinite amount of time. I had therefore

[1] Attention may, however, be called to a note on certain features of Burushaski, published in the BSOS Vol. VIII, 1936, pp. 627—636, which throws light on some grammatical and phonetic devices of the language.

129 to restrict my aims to improving the phonetic representation of
121 the words, principally in regard to distinguishing cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates, and to clearing up doubts indicated by question marks in the original script, which chiefly related to noun-categories and to plural and pronominal-prefix forms, but also sometimes to meanings. Even these limited aims were not completedly realised; many forms and queries escaped notice or otherwise resisted determination.

129 One point resulting from this revision may be noted. The keyword as given in the Vocabulary, or the first form, where alternatives are offered, is the representation of the word, which from all information available I believe to be the correct one. Many words are misspelt, as regards cerebrals and aspirates, in the Grammar and Texts, which were in print before this revision was carried out. No attempt has been made to correct them in the quotations given in the Vocabulary. The reader is therefore asked to concentrate his mind on the keyword forms.

It will be observed that among the meanings given Arabic and Persian words frequently occur, to all which "H" (Hindustani) has been prefixed. This is for the sake of simplification and because explanations were usually given in Hindustani (or Urdu) in which these words are current.

Occasionally another Burushaski word is quoted under the description "Bu. Syn." (Burushaski Synonym). This is not to be taken as meaning that the one word exactly duplicates the other in meaning, but only that the second was used to explain the first.

This volume began to go to press while I was still in Hunza, and Professor Morgenstierne very generously undertook the unpleasant task of working my emendations into the earlier part of the script and revising the proofs of the first few sheets. This resulted in a very considerable saving of time.

I regret to have to append a lengthy list of corrections and additions. These are due in large part to the upsetting effect of growing knowledge and the alterations in the text which it entailed,

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For the rest I can only hope that they may be attributed to physical limitations rather than to economy of endeavour on my part. I have made a vast number of corrections in the proofs, but unfortunately this is a case where anything short of complete achievement acquires no merit. 128

I have made no effort to turn this into a comparative philological dictionary, a task beyond my competence, but I have aimed at indicating obvious loan-words, for the benefit of those who may approach Burushaski with a minimum knowledge of other oriental languages 121 192

The bulk of these loan-words will be found to be Arabic-Persian, i.e. Arabic words current in Persian, most of which have probably been acquired, more or less indirectly, from the latter language. 192

The original source of dissemination of Persian in all this part of the world has undoubtedly been the language of the Tajik population of the plains of what is now known as Tajikistan in USSR territory. This Tajik Persian is now beginning to receive attention (Cp. W. Lentz, "Pamir Dialekte, I" Göttingen, 1933, Introd. pp. 31 ff., and H. Sköld, "Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen", Lund 1936, Introd. pp. 8 ff.). Work has been done on it in recent years by Soviet scholars, but copies of their publications are not easy to obtain. [113]

What proportion of the Persian words recorded by me in Burushaski are familiar to all Burushaski speakers, I cannot definitely say. Illiterate and untravelled men and most of the women would not, I think use, or know, many Persian words for which there are adequate Burushaski equivalents. Against this, every child in Hunza seemed to know the word *tasvir* for "photograph". It was a very old man who, when he had lost or damaged his portrait, asked if he could have another copy of the *pirwinum*, the "script".

Other non-adjacent languages which have been laid under contribution are Hindustani and Punjabi.

With Tibetan I have no direct acquaintance but I have noted a few words in Burushaski which can be found in the standard Tibetan dictionaries.

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126 weeks. Unfortunately I did not remember how full of uncertainties my Werchikwar Vocabulary was, and instead of revising it I spent all my time trying to obtain new material. From this, however, I have been able to fill in some details lacking in the original vocabulary.

128 The *English—Burushaski* and *English—Werchikwar Indexes*, prepared by my wife, are not to be taken as dictionaries, they merely give references to the occurrence of the English words in the preceding Vocabularies. These English words are not necessarily the exact equivalents of the vernacular words which follow them. These should therefore in every case be looked up.

EPILOGUE.

000 With this Preface to the last volume may be combined an epilogue to the whole work. The latter, concocted in the course of the years 1926—30 from material collected in 1923—24, passed on to the ordeal of printing, from which it now finally emerges. It has therefore been something of a preoccupation, almost continuously, for fifteen years, and has consumed a considerable amount of time and labour.

The expenditure of time and energy in routine work, or without definite objective, easily passes unnoticed and seldom arouses active regret. When there is, or ought to be, a definite result to show for it, we become critical, and we are specially apt to find the outcome of self-imposed, directed labour inadequate and unsatisfactory. We then realise that time passed is irrecoverable, and that energy expended is virtue that has gone out of us for ever.

The author of an imperfect work on Burushaski can therefore quote with humble fellow-feeling the sad case of Bursoë described by Ath Tha'álibi in his "History of the Persian Kings."[1]

[1] Zotenberg, "Histoire des Rois de Perse", Paris, 1900, p. 690. The quotation is from the translation by Sir Denison Ross in the Foreword to Vol. V of the "Ocean of Story", edited by N. M. Penzer (privately printed by Charles Sawyer, London, 1924—28) p. vi. Typographical difficulties rule out the reproduction here of the original Arabic.

128 As I sat and pondered my experiences—things that I had actually seen and witnessed, people whom I had met and talked to—I wondered and asked myself, "Will I be the man who will destroy the myth or will I corroborate it?"

Then I did a little soul searching. When an individual does that, it means he is troubled . . . and I admit that that was exactly my predicament.

I have tried to ascertain the truth of everything I have recorded and related in this book. Most of the time I was fortunate enough to see and do these things for myself. However, some information I had to obtain by asking questions and probing, but in every case I believed the information sincere and honest. You will note that, at all times, I sought my information from the highest and best informed sources available—even at the danger of annoying my host. Friendship and decorum are important conventions but, with me anyway, the quest for knowledge knows no bounds.

There may be errors and omissions and even falsehoods in my story but if there are any, it is by sheer accident or by willful misrepresentation on the part of someone else. Inasmuch as I am concerned, every statement made in this book is true, to the best of my innermost belief and knowledge.

124 128 There were many instances, while gathering this information, where facts, stories and other data were related to me and I doubted their veracity. So right there and then I said so. In some instances, I told the people who were giving me information that what they said did not make sense, and either they must have misunderstood or there was something being lost or twisted in the translation. I recall at the moment three such specific instances with entirely different groups and in each case, upon studying and revamping the

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
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question, the error was cleared up. 128●

Remember, I do not claim to be a Sherlock Holmes or smart enough to detect by scent or otherwise an untruth or misunderstanding, so they may crop up in various places in the book. 124

Long before I left home I had prepared a set of queries. Among them were things for me to investigate —places, customs and chores for me to see and do. And from all this I was to make my own values and estimates as to the validity of the claims made about Hunza and its people. I tried to cover every aspect of importance and interest and I believe that, with very few exceptions, I faithfully accomplished my mission.

In preparation for the trip I read every book I could find or locate that involved Hunza and in each case the author had done a credible job, but most of them had failed miserably to give sufficient information—at least, for me—because 'twas information that I wanted. I wanted to know more about the agriculture of Hunza, about the health of the people, about their methods, their means and their way of life. None of the authors gave much of that vital data. 122 114

Right from the first moment that I made plans to go to Hunza I decided that, if I wrote a book, it would contain the most complete, the most detailed and the most thorough study of the people of Hunza yet accomplished by any writer. This determination came upon me from the frustrations I felt when I read the available books on Hunza and was left with a feeling that only the surface of the subject had been scratched. 121 114

In my endeavors to fulfill this undertaking, I have spared neither time, effort, risk nor expense. I certainly don't want my readers to be left with the feeling that all about Hunza has not been told. I definitely realize that no one in a short few weeks or even months could

8;Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963
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seventeen." Two years before he had told me he was thirteen.

Because the Hunzas, themselves, have no written records, I attempted to estimate longevity on the basis of physical signs of age.

THE elderly Hunzas, I discovered firsthand, show impressive dental evidence of being no older than sixty to seventy-five, not an unusual old-age in Western countries. Owing to a lack of vitamin D and milk in their diet, the great majority of Hunzas have soft teeth. A young man of about twenty-one, just cutting his wisdom teeth, typically has six-year molars that are worn flat. This allows a rate-of-wear calculation that is relatively dependable in determining age. For instance, a man over one hundred years old, at this rate, would have all his molars worn down to the jawbone, but this does not occur even in the teeth of the very oldest Hunzas.

"Purity" has been attributed to the Hunza diet, but the diet itself has seldom been more than superficially observed or related to its highly seasonal pattern. In the summertime the Hunza cuisine is limited, but not too bad. Chapatties—shaped like pancakes and made of coarse, whole-barley flour and water—form the staple, and salted tea is the beverage. Mulberries, fresh apricots, cucumbers, and occasionally sheep-milk butter, round out the